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# West Europe Report

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24 JUNE 1986

## WEST EUROPE REPORT

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POLITICAL

CYPRUS

U.S. ACCUSED OF PRESSURING GOVERNMENT FOR CONCESSIONS

Nicosia I SIMERINI in Greek 23 May 86 p 1

/Editorial: "The Cross"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface/

/Excerpts/ Instead of pressuring Turkey the Americans are pressuring the Greek side. It does not seem that they are pressuring it verbally and spasmodically but methodically and "professionally." They exalt and reward Turkey, thus whetting its expansionist rapaciousness. They given them weapons and money. They promote them in Europe. At the same time they stir up the Macedonian question in the north of Greece.

Matters have never been as dangerous for the Greek side. For the first time in the past 12 years such support and assistance have been given to the Turkish conquerors. Turkey slaughters all forms of human rights and at the same time is being promoted for the presidency of the Council of Europe whose task is supposedly the defense of these rights.

The Americans are putting pressure on the Greek side to make a few more concessions.

The problem is not the concessions by the Greek side. The issue of concessions is no longer a valid one. The issue is straightforward and is being put before us straightforwardly: //Submission to the conditions of the Turkish victor.//

And it must submit to such conditions so as to create a monstrous state that since it will not be able to function it will later be swallowed up by the powerful ones that will be none other than the Turks.

Americal interests certainly determine American foreign policy. Exactly as European interests determine European policy toward Turkey. Economic and military interests. No one can (especially he is small and weak) underrate or fight these interests. We must seriously and responsibly make note of them and maneuver against them. However, the Greek side, at this historic period, is not being called on to evaluate these interests and //to come to terms// with them. It is called upon to submit to these interests as //they are expressed// with the support of the Turkish expansionist positions in Cyprus and the Aegean.

This is the big historic Cross of the Greek nation. A lot of interests have played havoc with Greece and the Greek lands in general. Inadequacies and //lack of skill, divisions,// and shortsightedness on the part of the Greek side have contributed to the raising of this Cross. If, however, the Greeks do not want to be recrucified soon they are obliged to become aware of the dangers and they must //organize// their defense and survival //united.// Every moment that passes unproductively is yet another form of pressure against us and an added benefit for Turkish plans. Who committed errors and what the punishment for these errors should be is another big matter. Now, all of us together must see how we will not be doomed...

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POLITICAL

CYPRUS

EDEK LEADER AT AAPSO MOSCOW MEETING

Nicosia TA NEA in Greek 20 May 86 pp 1, 3

/Text/ Dr Vasos Lyssaridis, president of the House of Representatives, has returned from the Soviet Union where he attended the AAPSO meetings there.

During his stay in the Soviet Union, Vasos Lyssaridis had a long talk with Mr Tolkunov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, during which they discussed the Cyprus question in all of its dimensions, the further strengthening of the friendly relations between the parliamentary bodies of the two countries and various other international issues.

Mr Tolkunov reiterated the Soviet Union's position on foreign intervention and for the convening of an international conference to discuss the basic issues of the Cyprus question.

In a general declaration, the AAPSO council expressed its concern over the continued Turkish occupation of part of Cyprus and called for the immediate implementation of the UN resolutions on Cyprus. It also expressed its support for the struggle of the Cypriot people for unity, independence, territorial integrity and the non-alignment of the Cypriot Republic and asked for the dismantling of the British bases.

During the sessions, Vasos Lyssaridis had dozens of contacts with various delegations and gave many press conferences.

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## IMPORTANT PASOK MEMBERS ANNOUNCE RESIGNATION

Athens I KATHIMERINI in Greek 24 May 86 pp 1, 3

/Excerpts/ Two resignations, namely Mr Stef. Manikas, secretary general of the New Generation, and Mr D. Kitsios, president of ADEDY /Supreme Administrative Committee of Civil Servants/, with clearly political and partisan overtones, provide a new dimension to the continued intraparty troubles within PASOK and to events taking place particularly in its leftist wing. Special political significance is given to Mr Kitsios' resignation from the PASOK Central Committee and the Movement, while he himself insists on maintaining the position of president of ADEDY, to which the party had initially "appointed" him through a judicial decision and subsequently through a "legalistic" procedure. A greater party problem has been created in PASOK from the fact that the 12 members of PASKE /Panhellenic Militant Workers Trade Union Movement/ in the ADEDY Executive Committee, according to Mr Kitsios' statement, did not accept his resignation from the presidency, something that means that there is support in his disagreement with the party.

Mr Kitsios, as is being said, had submitted his resignation to PASOK on 25 April. However, he felt that since the event concerned his relationship with the party it should not be announced.

As Mr Kitsios noted, the reasons that led to his resignation are due to differences of opinion he had on certain important issues with officials of the above-mentioned organs. Resulting from these differences was a crisis that finally led to his being unable to work with these organs and consequently to his being unable to implement PASOK's policies.

Moreover, yesterday's resignation of Secretary General of the New Generation Stefanos Manikas, former secretary of PASOK's youth organization, was considered a sudden one. In his resignation statement addressed to Deputy Minister Giorgos A. Papandreou, Mr Manikas states that he is resigning for the purpose of "facilitating" the deputy minister and "following his expressed desire" at a meeting they had. It should be pointed out that Mr St. Manikas is considered to be closely linked with former Deputy Minister to the Prime Minister Kostas Laliotis who contributed greatly to the assignment of Mr Manikas to his post as secretary general of the New Generation.

However, wanting to completely control the operations of his ministry, Deputy Minister G.A. Papandreou had attempted to weaken Mr Manikas but without success. Relations between the two had aggravated recently with the result being that Mr G.A. Papandreou had straightforwardly said that the matter of their "working together" in the New Generation sector would be terminated.

POLITICAL

GREECE

# PASOK ACCUSED OF HAVING FOMENTED PERMANENT DIVISION

Athens I KATHIMERINI in Greek 27 May 86 p 9

/Editorial: "The 'National Front'"

/Excerpts Mr Papandreou should have addressed his recommendations for the setting up of a national front to PASOK and personally to its leader and not to the political parties. This is so because if no national front exists --and since the prime minister asks that it be established it certainly does not exist-- this is due first of all to what Mr Papandreou, his party and government have said and done in the 5 years they have been in office. On the other hand, their entire form of governing during this period was aimed at creating divisions. Divisions at all levels and in all instances. Everywhere they used the expression "ours" and "theirs." Everywhere they saw "ours" and "theirs."

And they finally managed to divide the Greek people.

This is exactly what many consider as being the deepest and most permanent of the evils PASOK has committed against the country. Something that, indeed, becomes more reprehensible when one considers that this division was not an isolated result of erroneous tactics or a short-lived exaltation of political passion but a consequence of a cold-blooded planned program and of a set form of party deportment.

How is it that now Mr Papandreou has suddenly thought of a "solid national front" of political parties "going beyond the specific economic and social interests they express?"

Why is it that Mr Papandreou now seeks a "national front," indeed a "solid" one? Does he have reason to be concerned about this more than at any other time? Does he feel that he is no longer able to confront them? Or is it a case of yet another demagogic pyrotechnical display not at all uncommon, indeed, in the manner in which Mr Papandreou understands and exercises policy?

If, nevertheless, he feels that the course he has implemented for the development of the country has not been what it should have been, he has nothing else to do but change it without asking for accomplices in the failure. If he believes that democratic institutions are weak and restricted, let him find cause in himself and let him ask for the assistance of his own party to shore them up and to expand them. If he believes that the life of the citizen is not what it should be, let him come to an

understanding with Mr Simitis to improve the economic situation and with PASOK's party organizations to loosen the party noose so that every citizen might feel that he might earn his due without needing the piece of paper given out by the PASOK branch organization --a modern form of the old "social opinions" certificate-- but only on his own merit.

What Mr Papandreou said, therefore, will remain in the realm of a pyrotechnical display.

Mr Papandreou should put aside such demagogic pyrotechnical displays. And if he really is concerned over the issues he has mentioned, let him change his perception with which he confronts them. More specifically, what he calls "major national issues." As for the remaining parties, whose assistance he is almost asking, each will act and behave in accordance with the responsibility that its patriotism dictates without needing Mr Papandreou's or his party's suggestions.

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POLITICAL

GREECE

BRIEF

NEW KYP DIRECTOR APPOINTED--Prime Minister A. Papandreou has appointed Mr F. Makedos, well-known for his attacks on the Greek community in America, as director of the KYP /Central Intelligence Service/. In an announcement issued yesterday, ND described this appointment as "an insult and provocation" to overseas Greeks against whom a new "crusade" has begun. The new twin who will direct the KYP is Mr Makedos, together with Mr Atsalakis. According to the same decision, the former KYP director, namely Lt Gen G. Politis (Ret), has been assigned as chief of the prime minister's military office. About 3 years ago when Maj Gen F. Makedos was air attache in Washington he prepared a report for the government in which he criticized the top leaders of the Greek community there for not promoting Greek positions. /Text/ /Athens I KATHIMERINI in Greek 24 May 86 p 1/ 5671

NEW PASOK STUDENT MOVEMENT--PASOK students who have either withdrawn or have been purged from the party youth organization have formed an independent student movement. The decision was made at a conference of cadres who had withdrawn from the PASOK youth organizations of Athens, Salonica and Thraki. The conference was held in Salonica over the weekend. After having examined the situation and prospects in the AEI /Advanced Educational Establishments/ following a turnabout in the government's policy, it was deemed necessary to establish a movement to be called Socialist Student Independent Movement. It was also pointed out at the conference that the protests to and resistance against the government's policy must become politicized. The Socialist Student Independent Movement will convene a panhellenic conference in September. /Text/ /Athens I KATHIMERINI in Greek 27 May 86 p 1/ 5671

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## CAVACO SILVA'S PERSONALITY: SOME ASPECTS

## Intolerance Seen Main Attribute

Lisbon O JORNAL in Portuguese 1-8 May p 6

[Commentary by Augusto Abelaira]

[Text] In Portugal's narrow political circles, Cavaco Silva is undeniably a remarkable man who has the indisputable qualities of a populist and a learned man. He may even be able to carry out certain tasks. It is also said (however, I do not have the proof) that he has the support of large sectors of our population. I have even read between the lines of thought of some people on the Left and there are indications of an unstated but unconcealable fascination with Cavaco Silva.

He is a young man who was not involved with the 24 April movement and he is, apparently, not interested in the polemics of fascism. To him, these are as obsolete as non-scholarly discussions of the French Revolution or the One Hundred Years War. Cavaco Silva is filled with self-confidence and, I believe, he is mostly interested in the present. This is to be praised. He belongs to what is perhaps a new generation that will govern us in the coming years either to the Right or the Left. This generation unites (some to win others to lose) people like Vitor Constancio, Lourdes Pintasilgo, and Morais Leitao. Is this a new generation or a new way of looking at things? In the end, this is a supposition and not a certainty. The future is unknown.

Who is Cavaco Silva? Have I not been unjust with him many times? Could some politicians be right in not doubting him, even though they may not agree with him?

Let us, for example, look at Herminio Martinho. He was very offended with the PSD leadership when it accused the PRD of being irresponsible. He was relieved to learn that Cavaco Silva had been more moderate in a previous television address. Herminio Martinho then thought that a distinction has to be made between Cavaco Silva and the other party leaders. After Alberto Joao Jardim condemned the PSD's Rules Committee for the expulsions it ordered, he absolved Cavaco Silva by saying he was not responsible for making such decisions.

Can this be the case? Since it is impossible to carry out scientific research, I propose the following intellectual exercise. Let us begin by replacing Cavaco Silva with Balsemao or Rui Machete at the head of the PSD and let us surmise the result. Would the Rules Committee dare make the aforementioned expulsions? At another level that is more difficult to assess, would the PSD have spoken with such vehemence of the PRD's irresponsibility?

I could be very wrong or the answer is simply no. I conclude, with some caution, that these acts are a direct derivative of Cavaco Silva's position as PSD leader. He authoritatively exudes intolerance and aggressiveness.

I do not wish to imply with this that Cavaco Silva gave any order. He did worse. He created a climate in which his court, instead of waiting for his orders, tries to rightly or wrongly anticipate his desires. Rightly or wrongly, it tried to please him. It remains to be seen whether Cavaco Silva reprimanded his courtiers or he has already become a prisoner of the way in which they see him.

Cavaco Silva's ideas are, perhaps, not even very different from the ideas of other political parties. Perhaps for the most part, they are the same as the others if we are to judge by what is occurring with socialist or conservative parties in Europe. What I feel is more serious with this nimble and intelligent politician is the atmosphere he has created around him. It is an atmosphere of open intolerance. You are either a believer or you die.

I readily agree that there is a need for a new generation of politicians and that Cavaco Silva is part of this new generation. However, I hope the prime minister is not the true representative of that generation. I am an optimist, even when I know that reality wants nothing to do with my optimism.

#### Comparison With Constancio

Lisbon EXPRESSO in Portuguese 25 Apr 86 p 3

[Text] If Cavaco Silva were not now at the head of the PSD, it is probable that Vitor Constancio would not have the strength he has in his bid for the leadership of the Socialist Party.

The reason for this is that the PS militants have convinced themselves that in order to stand up to an economist another economist is needed.

The rationale has some logic in it.

The socialists believe that to beat Cavaco politically, he must first be beat on his own turf of economic concepts. This is the reason Constancio became the primary candidate for the party's post of secretary general.

At this point, however, another point must be introduced.

Has Cavaco Silva's success been the result of the fact that he is an economist or is it because of the way he acts?

In other words, does Cavaco please the PSD and part of the nation because of his knowledge of economics or because he reminds people of Sa Carneiro (who was not an economist)

This is the question.

The answer is implicit in the question. The prime minister's success has much more to do with his personality and style than with his professional training.

From this response, we can then see the error in the direction taken by some socialists.

Vitor Constancio is probably as knowledgeable in economics as Cavaco Silva but, in truth, he has a personality and a leadership style that make him almost directly the opposite of the prime minister.

Cavaco is biting and distant while Constancio is smooth and emotional.

Cavaco likes to act swiftly while Constancio prefers to ponder problems for some time before acting.

Cavaco is a man of action, Constancio is a thinker.

This does not mean that Vitor Constancio is not a good candidate for the Socialist Party leadership. This merely means that he cannot compete with Cavaco Silva in the same arena the prime minister has chosen to assert himself, which is that of a man of action.

Constancio will always be a different kind of leader and, should he reach it, a different type of prime minister.

The Socialist Party should be aware of this now.

The worst thing that could happen would be for the PS to want to see another Cavaco in him. This would amount to killing at birth the leadership of this young former governor of the Bank of Portugal.

Constancio will never be what he is not. The post-25 April era is full of examples of politicians who failed because we wanted to see the reflection of others in them.

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## PRD WARNED TO PRESERVE EANES' LEGEND

Lisbon SEMANARIO in Portuguese 3 May 86 p 3

[Article by Jose Antonio Saraiva: "Eanes: Preserve the Legend"]

[Text] Eanes, in addition to being a mortal with all his virtues and faults, has become a legend in Portugal.

As far as the nation is concerned, Eanes is not merely a private citizen quietly residing in Madre de Dues, but the former president who managed to create an aura of almost complete inaccessibility at Belem Palace by distancing himself from the Portuguese people.

In fact, Ramalho Eanes' public image was not based so much on what he said or did during the nine years of his administration as on the pauses and silences he employed.

Thus the country only saw him from afar and the reactions which the president evoked were invariably distant: fear, rejection, reverence or respect. It was this image or legend, created around the person of the president of the Republic, which gave rise to the creation of a party with General Eanes as its standard bearer.

In fact, the Democratic Renewal Party (PRD) would not be what it is today if Eanes had not created this aura of mystery, and the only dependable asset which the party really has is this "mysterious capital" (poorly defined in political terms) accumulated by Eanes while in office as president of the Republic.

This molded the PRD.

No one knows, for example, whether the party is to the left or right of the Socialist Party (PS), nor does anyone know whether it will collaborate with the socialists or with Cavaco Silva in the future, but it is known that it has Ramalho Eanes behind it, and this is what matters.

This week after yet another lengthy silence, the general formally announced his imminent switch to the Renewal Party.

At this point, now that all doubt has been dispelled about Eanes' joining the party, the question now being asked concerns what his place will be in the new party.



More specifically: Will Ramalho Eanes become a leader like other party heads? Will he become directly involved in day-to-day problems, the resolution of political conflicts and the running discussions which fill the daily routine of a party?

It is difficult to believe that he will.

Besides, in order to defend itself, the PRD must preserve the general's image. This means holding him above draining, petty controversies so that he may continue to be a distant, inaccessible figure for the military and the Portuguese people.

To do otherwise would be a risk which the PRD is probably in no position to take.

It is even possible that if Eanes were willing to undertake a new role, i.e., that of the traditional leader actively involved in daily affairs, he might give a good accounting of himself.

But if he doesn't?

A legend would die and no other would arise.

The PRD would become a party without direction because the standard bearer which sustains it would disappear. This is why Ramalho Eanes, as he enters the PRD and becomes its chairman at the end of the summer, could hardly stop being the man he was from mid-1976 through 1985.

The PRD should not expect to find a leader in Eanes.

The only difference which Eanes' switch will mean for the PRD is that its standard bearer will no longer be outside the party, but inside. The PRD's standard bearer will merely leave the presidency of the Republic for the chairmanship of the PRD.

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## PSD/PRD ALLIANCE SCENARIO EXAMINED

Lisbon 0 DIABO in Portuguese 22 Apr 86 p 2

[Commentary by Jose Miguel Judice]

[Text] After having excluded a PS/PSD alliance, this series of articles continues to examine a policy of alliances for the PSD by analyzing a hypothetical PSD/PRD alliance. This week's question seems to be easier to answer and, for some, even more obvious. To these people, a PSD/PRD alliance is an absolute practical impossibility because the PRD is Gen Eanes' party and the PSD is Sa Carneiro's party. Now, this is merely an emotional argument which does not mean it is not a decisive argument. These articles, however, must involve more than the listing of emotional factors.

No one in the PSD openly defends a possible alliance with the PRD. However, some arguments can be put forward favoring such a solution. The first of these is the theory involving the PSD's need to govern and to do so with majority support. In this legislature, this means an alliance with the PRD if the PS is excluded. This is a weak argument because it does not clarify the most important element. What happens if legislative elections are held?

The second argument seems more solid. This argument takes note to the PRD's lack of definition. Its leadership is indecisive about an alliance with the PCP, the PS or the PSD. To attract the PRD into an alliance with the PSD is to strengthen its most moderate wing and bring the party to a more moderate position, which is a positive move for the political system. This is a false argument for two reasons. In the first place, this party's inability to decide on a policy of alliances is inherent to it for the same reason that it cannot take a stand without coming undone. Secondly, to pull the PRD into an alliance with the PSD is to leave those groups opposed to this solution loose. This means that to keep the party united, it will have to be as bad an ally for the PSD as the PSD was for the PS.

The third argument is more enticing. To favor the PRD as an ally is one of the easiest and most effective methods of preventing the creations of a popular front consisting of the PS and the PRD with the direct or indirect support of the PCP. This is a deceiving argument. In fact, there is either

a risk of a popular front or there is none. If there is a risk, then it is because the PRD and the PS believe an alliance with the PCP is politically credible. If they believe this, then they are useless as allies of the PSD whose main enemy is the PCP. If there is no risk of a popular front, then it is not necessary to act to avoid what is not going to happen.

I believe these are the main arguments used to justify the possibility of a PSD/PRD alliance. However, even if there are others, the question of a PSD/PRD alliance cannot be based on fragmented reasons that cannot be justified. Any party's policy of alliances, especially a party with the position and vote gathering power of the PSD, should always be based on an earlier definition of its objectives and clear strategic guidelines. Only after this is done, does it make sense to look into the question of alliances and then only from the point of view of determining which one best serves the desired objectives and strategy of the party.

Now, the PSD's main goal is to modernize Portugal, to transform it into a country that has a progressive domestic rhythm and economic development that will permit social justice. Naturally, it tries to lead the nation and apply its program (the practical and consensual program, not the archaic and pro-socialist one) to achieve this end. Thus, any alliance between the PSD and any party must be made under assumption that this party is not pro-socialist and it does not support socialist solutions for Portugal. The PSD's aim is to lead an alternative bloc to the socialists. Such an alliance must also imply acceptance of the PSD as the leader of this bloc. The question of whether or not there can be a PSD/PRD alliance must first be answered by the PRD's clear and unequivocal renunciation of the socialist whims it announced when founded and a renunciation of its socialist ideology. It must also accept, for political practicality, the policies that are attempting to remove socialist power from Portuguese society. The PRD must also accept the PSD's political leadership and formally accept to form part of an alternative bloc to the socialists. In addition, of course, the PRD would accept not to contribute in any way to bringing down this government. It would make no sense for the PRD to attempt to become part of an alternative to the socialists while, at the same time, it formed an alliance with socialist parties with the aim of bringing down the reformist efforts of this government.

If the PRD acted as described above, it would have changed enough to be treated as a party with which alliances could be made. The PRD will shortly begin showing this hypothetical evolution. The media legislation being debated in the Assembly of the Republic and the upcoming debates on labor and agricultural issues (as a matter of fact, it should be noted that these two issues caused the centrist government to fall) will force the PRD to make a choice and this choice will either allow the legislation to be approved or watered down.

Much will depend on the PRD's choice. There will certainly be a clarification as to whether an eventual PRD-government partnership is possible. However, there is also the probability of a serious political crisis. We cannot see how the Cavaco Silva government could accept to remain in office in the event of a defeat in parliament involving the same legislation that accelerated the downfall of the centrist government when it failed to pass it.

## LIST OF PERSONALITIES IN PRESIDENTIAL ENTOURAGE

Lisbon SEMANARIO in Portuguese 3 May 86 p 12

[Text] Decree No. 675/76 of 31 August provides for an Advisory Council for the President of the Republic consisting of a head and a personal secretary, currently Manuela Pereira dos Santos, who has worked for Alfredo Barroso for years, and a maximum of eight advisers supported by a maximum of three secretaries, currently Anabela Cruz, Fernanda Graca and Isabel Freire.

The law also gives the president the right to decide freely the number of consultants which, at any rate, is limited to this side of infinity by budgetary considerations. Proof that this arrangement was not poorly conceived may be seen in the fact that the staff appointed by Soares is not much different in size from what it was under Eanes.

The difference between advisers and consultants is that the former arrive at work at 9:00 am and have no other job. Consultants may accept private work in addition.

In staffing the Advisory Council, Alfredo Barroso showed great nostalgia for the time when he was secretary general to the chairman of the Council of Ministers and for the people that he brought in at that time. As far as party affiliations are concerned, he followed the advice of MASP: half Socialist party militants and half non-militants. A key figure at Belem Palace, the head of the Advisory Council ensures routine liaison with the government, maintaining regular contact with the head of Cavaco's office, referring to his own office bizarre petitions brought to the president by citizens with problems.

Let us look more closely at the advisers coordinated by Barroso.

Legal Advisor: Ana Isabel Martinha, in addition to deciphering the mysteries of the law, is a pillar of the palace, where she came to know every nook and cranny as secretary to the former Advisory Council head. She is assisted by a consultant, Jose Vicente, from the Office of the Legal Advisor to the chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Cultural Affairs: A Soares innovation of recent origin which is putting the qualifications of Jose Manuel dos Santos to the test. Dos Santos gained his

experience at Socialist Action and in the Socialist party's press office. At the moment, for example, he helps Soares stay up to date on the revision of the Luso-Brazilian orthographic convention and President Sarney's literary writings.

Social and Economic Affairs: One advisor, Antonio Julio de Almeida and two consultants, all formerly of Prime Minister Soares' office: Vitor Moreira and Mario Nunes da Silva. The two consultants are specialized in management and labor, respectively. The three together handle health, education, strikes, etc.

Parliamentary and Government Affairs: Oliveira Rodrigues, the former head of Gama's office, is advisor and Jose Menezes, former secretary of state of government, who is very well versed in the extensive files on government reform, is consultant. This experience is considered particularly valuable since, according to certain sources, these files were already at Belem Palace and beautifully bound during Eanes' administration, but there was no one capable of deciphering them. Menezes is also quite knowledgeable about the functioning of regional autonomy.

The adviser and the consultant work alternately in an office at Parliament so that no development in deliberations escapes the notice of Belem Palace.

Local and Regional Affairs: Carneiro Jacinto, Prime Minister Soares' spokesman, is new in this office. It is not surprising, we are assured, that he acquired detailed knowledge of the country in his previous position. An expert in political geography, i.e., the inner workings of politics, Carneiro Jacinto suggests itineraries appropriate for Soares as a president of all Portuguese. After Porto (PSD) and Braga (PS), S. Joao da Madeira (CDS), a center of industrial development celebrating its new status as a city, will be next. On June 10 it will be Evora's (APU) turn and Alentejo's. In this post, Jacinto follows Lencastre Bernardo, who used his expertise to establish the PRD from North to South.

International Affairs: This is a well-staffed advisory office assisting the president in foreign affairs: Jose Stichini Vilela is adviser and Francisco Ribeiro Telles, Ana Zacarias and Carlos Gaspar (the only nondiplomat on the staff) are consultants.

Political Adviser: Unfilled, perhaps because, as Vasco Pulido Valente says, no one knows more about politics than Soares. Three consultants, Guilherme d'Oliveira Martins, Joaquim Aguiar and Joao Carlos Espada, ponder the options: all options. Teresa de Sousa, Sa Carneiro's former secretary recently arrived from Buenos Aires, enjoys a status somewhere between a supersecretary and an experienced adviser.

Press Relations: Miguel Almeida Fernandes, Ventura Martins and Estrela Serrano are trying diligently to overcome the difficulties imposed by Soares' prohibition of "leaks." They will soon be relieved by the institution of permanent correspondents who will be briefed weekly by Alredo Barroso. Barroso admits that at times there is nothing to say, but this is also true at the EEC.

European Integration: Jose Amaral, former head of Ernani Lopes' office with experience in Brussels, is the sole consultant. This office was created under the current administration to demonstrate its involvement with Europe, an involvement which, moreover, does not ignore economics: the economic and international affairs advisers support the lone consultant.

Special Counselors: Not officially on the staff, these are national experts of unquestionable qualifications in their area of expertise with whom Soares consults informally and on whom he will in due time confer appropriate official status.

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CSO: 3542/101

## SOCIALIST YOUTH LEADERS REJECT 'MARXIST' LABEL

Lisbon DIARIO DE LISBOA in Portuguese 3 May 86 p 4

[Excerpt] ANOP learned yesterday that a recommendation by Socialist Youth scheduled to be made at the party congress calls for the removal of explicit references to Marxism in the Socialist Party's platform.

The young Socialists support "the building of democratic socialism on the basis of social dynamics without emphasizing exclusive historical references to Marxism."

The recommendation describes the Socialist Party as "a party of all classes which wants to build a just and unified society based on respect for pluralistic democracy and human rights."

The text praises the openness of the Socialist Party to movements supporting local democracy, direct democracy, associativism, labor union initiatives, cooperation, coadministration and independent administration.

The young Socialists also plan to submit a slate to the party's National Commission, explicitly not supporting any of the candidates for the head of the party.

Regarding bylaws, Socialist Youth's recommendation commends the institutionalization of a party referendum for vital issues and the creation of federation political commissions from which district officers come.

Socialist Youth also proposes changing the current Socialist party emblem to a horizontal sword and a rose, and the creation of an education office at the district and national levels. The young socialists favor election of the party president from the party's own slate and involvement of young socialist members in all Socialist Party organizations, including the Standing Commission, and increasing the number of young socialist representatives in all district and national organizations.

In addition, they demand a quota of young Socialist members in district and national congresses as well as the institutionalization of a quota of young Socialist members in political offices, with special emphasis on the Assembly of the Republic, where the young Socialists want a minimum of ten deputies. Jose Apolinario, the organization's leader, Mario Cristovao, from the National Secretary's office, and members of the Coimbra, Porto, Leiria, Aveiro, Setubal and Braganca federations signed the recommendation.

## REPORTAGE ON REACTION TO 'MILITARIZATION OF LIMNOS'

## Militarization Presents Obstacles

NC200801 Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 18 May 86 pp 1, 7

[Report by Nilufer Yalcin]

[Text] Ankara--The Turkish Government has stepped up its warnings to Washington and other countries concerned regarding the campaign launched by Greece for the inclusion of Limnos Island in NATO's future defense plans. In its demarche, Ankara urges that Greece should not be given a chance to exploit machinery of NATO. Drawing its allies' attention to the importance it attaches to this matter, Turkey seeks to prevent "the Greek intrigue" from assuming serious dimensions. The atmosphere prevailing in Ankara indicates that if this situation is allowed to get worse, "Turkey will have to play all its trump cards."

NATO planning has on occasion been impeded because for the past 4 years Greece has been trying to have Limnos included in it, having militarized the island in contravention of the Lausanne Treaty and the Montreux Convention.

One such obstacle to NATO planning has been the veto by Turkey and Greece of the sections concerning them in the annual plans which specify troop targets in NATO. As a result of these vetoes, the Turkish and Greek forces are excluded from NATO defense plans, even if only on paper.

Secondly, because of these vetoes, Turkish and Greek forces are kept out of the more comprehensive biannual plans setting out troop targets. It is reported that Greece will attempt to raise this matter at the defense planning committee meeting to be held by NATO defense ministers on 21-21 May.

The third difficulty arises from Greece's efforts to make an issue of the inclusion of Limnos in future NATO defense planning.

In view of this situation, Turkey has frequently warned its allies as follows: "Greece has militarized the islands in the Aegean by contravening international treaties and upsetting the equilibrium established by the Lausanne Treaty. Not satisfied with this, the Athens government is now trying to persuade the NATO allies to accept and approve this illegal situation."



"Turkey will never permit this search for a cover-up [kilif arayisi]. Moreover, Turkey wants its allies to realize how ill-considered these plans are, now while there is no serious situation arising from a major crisis connected with peace or war."

#### U.S. Accused of Taking Sides

NC270657 Istanbul HURRIYET in Turkish 21 May 86 p 3

[Editorial by Oktay Eksi: "The Crushing Limnos Defeat"]

[Text] Isn't today 21 May 1986? Exactly a month ago today, on 21 April 86, National Defense Minister Zeki Yavuzturk, in response to arguments that "the tendency to include Limnos Island in NATO's military defense plans is continually increasing in NATO," made the following statement: "It is absolutely out of the question for us to make any concession on the Limnos issue. NATO must respect an issue that is already registered in agreements. We are firm on this issue; that is, in our opposition to the militarization of Limnos. Concessions are out of the question." (see CUMHURİYET of 22 April 1986).

Now let us read what Foreign Minister Halefoglu told journalists yesterday. The newspapers wanted to know whether "it was true that an agreement has been reached between the United States and Greece to the effect that in the event of a crisis, U.S. reinforcements will land on Limnos." This was his reply: "It is impossible for us to accept the militarization of Limnos. Nor can we accept, directly or indirectly, any step toward legalization of the de facto situation."

And now let us express our own view: By accepting the militarization of Limnos, on whatever grounds, the United States has not only taken sides in a dispute within NATO, it has also rendered the Lausanne and Montreux conventions "disputable."

We believe that this is far more important for Turkey than the militarization of Limnos or of a few other islands in the Aegean. In other words, the United States is toying with the foundations of the Turkish Republic.

This is the truth of the matter, despite the fact that the national defense minister says "we won't make any concessions," and the foreign minister says "we won't accept any step toward legalization of the de facto situation."

We are indeed curious as to how the Turkish Government will explain to the Turkish nation its failure to react to the militarization of Limnos and of the other Aegean islands over the years, taking place right under our nose, for this failure led to the present situation. Perhaps it will simply say to the Turkish people: "Let Greece have as many military installations in the Aegean as it wants. It may even indirectly accept the United States as a partner in the militarization of these places, for none of these actions will have any validity as far as Turkey is concerned. The island in question, along with the other Aegean islands that have the same status, was

left to Greece on the sole condition that it not be militarized. The Paris Agreement, which was signed 11 years after the Montreux Convention, is explicit on this. In fact, various agreements signed since 1913 stress the principle that the militarization of the islands poses a threat to Turkey. So Turkey must now either secure the demilitarization of these places or claim its own right to the islands on the grounds that the conditions that governed their cession to Greece have been violated."

Or perhaps the honorable prime minister will only admit--to repeat a term he used the other day--that he is utterly helpless.

Let us see who is going to foot the bill for this crushing defeat.

#### Concern Over U.S. Position

NC230854 Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turkish 21 May 86 pp 1, 11

[Editorial by Hsan Cemal: "Limnos and Beyond"]

[Text] We went to Brussels for a few days last month. As we were chatting with an American official of NATO, we asked him what he thought about the Limnos question. Although he said he did not want to deal with this sensitive issue, which concerns both Turkey and Greece, he nevertheless added: "But we must make the necessary plans in case of war."

We viewed his answer as highly significant. We made similar soundings among NATO officials, and this was our conclusion: NATO, and particularly Washington, could present Turkey with a fait accompli on Limnos at any time. Our diplomats know this, and they are worried. They are well aware of the fact that Washington and NATO have been sympathetic to the idea of lending legitimacy, either directly or indirectly, to the status of Limnos for some time now.

This approach is not new. Dr Ehmke, an adviser to FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, had this to say in a report dated 20 January 1977, which was prepared after his meeting with Professor Alexandritis, President Carter's special aide: "President Carter may succeed in convincing the Greeks to put some of the islands near the Turkish coast under NATO control."

The game is very obvious.

By using its veto, Turkey has thus far been able to prevent the direct inclusion of Limnos in NATO's defense plans. However, Greece has been trying in a roundabout way to open Limnos Island to U.S. troops "in the event of war" through a bilateral agreement within NATO.

According to our reports, Greece has been successful in this venture. The Papandreou government has suggested that should "a crisis" erupt, the United States could use Limnos as a base. Washington has accepted this suggestion, which means that Limnos has indirectly been included in NATO's defense plans.

One could put it this way: The United States has identified itself with the Greek point of view at Turkey's expense. There is no other explanation. More

unfortunate still is the timing. This situation arose as Ankara and Washington were discussing the Defense and Economic Cooperation Agreement. It looks as if we were more worried about some concessions in the textile issue than anything else. If this is all we can achieve in our bargaining, then authoritative officials in the U.S. Congress may bring us the news that military aid to Turkey this year will be less than that of last year.

While we were busy awarding former NATO Secretary General Luns the Atatürk Prize for his outstanding service, Bernard Rogers, commander in chief of the same alliance, said sharply: "I don't care what they say [ben onu bunu bilmem], as commander in chief responsible for the security of the alliance, I must use every means at my disposal, and must make use of Limnos Island in time of war."

Foreign affairs is an art which is often merciless. The foreign policy of a state is not confined to economy and trade. If you do not feel you are standing on firm ground, if you do not keep your head high, and if you lose your credibility, you will suffer continual setbacks. As long as the other side sees you as "a bird in the hand," you cannot avoid retreating even in the most righteous of causes, and you will face eventual defeat.

What will happen now? Using our veto in NATO won't change a thing, as Greece has been clever, and has reached its objective within a bilateral framework. We can do nothing but live and hope that Ankara will pursue this matter at the highest level so as not to leave this fait accompli unanswered.

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CSO: 3554/397

## EDITORIAL VIEWS U.S. POLICY ON USE OF BASES

NC270720 Istanbul GUNAYDIN in Turkish 21 May 86 p 6

[Editorial by Neacti Zincirkiran: "The Insanity of the United States"]

[Text] These following words from U.S. Defense Under Secretary Richard Perle are truly frightening: "We can use our troops in countries where we have bases, in accordance with bilateral agreements, in any way we see fit, without having to consult the governments of those countries."

This means that the United States can activate its units in Turkey for action against Iran, Syria, Libya, or any other Middle East or North African country, or even against the Soviet Union, without the knowledge of the Turkish Government. Such action would, of course, land Turkey in serious trouble.

We have been allies with the United States for 40 years, but this is the first time that we have ever heard such a crazy thing. Given such bad beginnings, bad consequences are inevitable.

We hinted in yesterday's issue that the Reagan administration is engaged in new undertakings. It sees the NATO alliance not simply as a system for mutual defense against the Soviet Union, but as a force offering solidarity to the pursuit of its own interests and those of the West at large. It intends to use the military force created by NATO member countries for purposes that go beyond NATO objectives.

Turkey opposes these U.S. desires. In fact, only 3 days ago, Sukru Elekdag, our ambassador to the United States, when meeting with a U.S. foreign policy expert who suggested that Turkey undertake missions that are outside of the NATO context and indicated that, as the expert put it, this would certainly secure certain gains for Turkey, had this to say: "I do not think that any Turkish Government would undertake such a mission. In the past, such policies have always proven to be detrimental to Turkey."

Despite the attitude of Turkey and other NATO members, however, the United States is coming close to defying them by saying: "If you accept our decisions, well and good. If you don't, we will use the troops we have on bases in your territory in any way we like."

Such behavior constitutes disrespect for the sovereign rights of those countries in which the United States has bases. It also contravenes both international law and the principles of the United Nations.

Bilateral agreements do not bestow this right on the United States.

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CSO: 3554/397

## NATO STANDING NAVAL FORCE ATLANTIC DEMONSTRATES CAPABILITIES

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 17 May 86 p 6

[Article by Siegfried Theilbeer: "'Kojak's' Super Radar and Silent Electronics"]

[Text] NATO Fleet Air Defense--"We Need the Old Ships Too"

HNLMS "Tromp," May. The nickname of the AA frigate "Tromp" is "Kojak." The huge radome, which houses the radar system, indeed reminds us of a billiard-ball-smooth head. Under it rotate the 10-ton, back-to-back, several-meter tall antenna systems, comparable to a merry-go-round which rotates around its own axis every second. This kind of three-dimensional (3-D) radar, such as the one used by the Dutch, in addition to the bearing and range of aircraft also indicates their altitude and has a range of more than 250 nautical miles, at any rate, against high-flying targets. The data are passed on to the computers of the operations center or the fire control radar within fractions of seconds.

This means that a bombing raid can be detected already at great range. "Tromp" and its sister ship "De Ruyter," designed as command ships for Dutch task forces, can in this fashion control the employment of Dutch fighter aircraft which they guide to the attacker and they can assign defense sectors to the task force units at the right time. More than a hundred targets can be tracked simultaneously. The radar also offers a rapid data sequence for low-flying aircraft and high resolution against close-in targets.

But this radar is hardly ever used. Here is why: Emcon, Emission Control. "The time of the electronic Christmas trees, the time of full radar installations, is gone," explains a duty officer. "After all, we reveal our position by virtue of our rather laborious search operations. This is like somebody looking for the burglar in the dark, using a flashlight. The burglar is likely to spot the flashlight before the homeowner can discover the burglar. Electronic reconnaissance is a major source from which both sides draw their data. If the Soviet Union, for example, discovers the typical frequencies of our radar, then it can conclude that it is dealing with 'Tromp.' From other data, perhaps a newspaper article, it knows that this ship is now the leader of the NATO squadron. Since the latter's makeup is known, the other side also knows that the American destroyer 'Briscoe' or perhaps the British

frigate 'Battleaxe' or the German 'Karlsruhe' must be nearby. A tiny bit of information can thus fill big gaps in a mosaic. So, we maintain radio and radar silence whenever possible."

The ships avoid radio messages and prefer to blink Morse signals with the searchlight. Of course, the air space also has to be watched. But for that one can use the less noticeable radar systems of other ships in the squadron. The Americans are employing similar tactics. The Aegis AA cruisers of the "Ticonderoga" class, for example, would--with their phase-guided super-radar--immediately betray the presence of an aircraft carrier group which they are supposed to protect. They therefore have another, unobtrusive radar on board for routine use or they rely on information from other ships or early warning aircraft. Only after the air threat has become clear, would they turn their giant electronics system on.

"You get your first information on the enemy by analyzing intelligence data," says Dutch Commodore (Flotilla Admiral) Jan Haver Droeze, who commands the Standing Naval Force Atlantic, NATO's fire brigade, in "Tromp," the flagship. "We know which ships are under way; with the help of systematic surveillance, we know the positions of submarines or, if contact has been lost, we still have certain reference points as to where they might be. And we know when we are within range of enemy aircraft. Sometimes you can avoid the danger. But sooner or later you will have to take countermeasures. After all, we want to move the convoy to a certain place, for example, in a scenario involving reinforcements or equipment going to northern Norway and we have to get there at the right time. The closer we get to our destination, in other words, the port, the more can we expect the employment of submarines. In the North Sea and off Norway one must likewise figure on a threat from the air everywhere."

The destroyers and frigates of the Standing Naval Force Atlantic, together with other ships and aircraft in the context of the "Bright Horizon 86" naval maneuvers, are practicing how to provide protection against attacks from the air, from surface vessels, and submarines for convoys which, in case of crisis or war, would have to carry supplies and reinforcements from America to Europe. They cooperate closely with the allied air forces and the AWACS early-warning aircraft.

The defense is arranged in several layers. We try to engage submarines already as they leave port and then as they pass through choke points--such as the GIUK-Gap (the Greenland-Iceland-England Narrows)--or during their approach; this is done by our own submarines, aircraft, and, at the choke points, by sonar buoys and minefields placed on the ocean bottom, patrolling frigates and hunter-killer groups. As for the bombers, we hope to be able to intercept a large portion with our own fighters which are launched from aircraft carriers for shore bases. "After all, it is always better to shoot the bomber, which carries two or four missiles, down, rather than engage each missile individually." The AWACS aircraft and the in-flight refueling capacity of Western fighter-bombers play a big role in this "Outer Air Battle." But the convoys must be shielded against enemy formations that might get through nevertheless.

The main threat to the convoy from submarines comes from dead ahead and from the sides. These are the silent submarines waiting in ambush. But even today it still makes sense to remain unpredictable by steering a zig-zag course because a submarine can close in on a convoy hardly without being detected. On the open ocean, the tactical requirements for ACW and AA action conflict with each other. If the ocean is deep enough, submarines can be detected at great range and the escort vessels, with their towed sonars, such as the American and French navies and recently also the British are using them (the Dutch and the Germans will follow soon), are best employed at greater range from the convoy.

But a tight defense umbrella is required against air attacks. The "Nato Sea Sparrow" for example is a self-defense rocket used by frigates for close-in work. Its range, in the more recent version, is 10 nautical miles instead of 6 nautical miles, as it was in the past, and, if the ships are cleverly grouped around a convoy, this facilitates protection for the entire formation. The escort vessels, after all, are not supposed to protect only themselves--if that were all, they could be left at home--but instead they must protect the valuable aircraft carriers, as well as the troop transports and cargo vessels.

But if we happen to be in the North Sea, the Channel and its approaches, near the ports of Western Europe or Norway, in other words, in shallow-water or fjord regions, then the tactical requirements coincide again. Here, the sonar equipment often has a range of only 4-6 nautical miles. The escort vessels must form a tight ring also for protection against submarines. "We cannot have enough escorts. Every ship, even an older one, is needed," says Adm Haver Droeze.

Submarines can also rest silently on the bottom in the shallow waters of the continental shelves. British but also Canadian frigates are equipped with a high-frequency sonar for this purpose; of course, it does not have much of a range but, with the help of its high resolution, it provides a clear image of the object on the ocean bottom. But the standard weapon against submarines on the ocean bottom--the American Mk 46 ASW torpedo, which is dropped from helicopters, aircraft, ships, and the ASROC launcher--has only limited effectiveness. The active search head of this small torpedo is jammed by ground reflections (in the fjord also by rock walls). This is why the British optimized their Stingray torpedo for shallow-water use. An ideal weapon for this purpose is still the depth charge launcher, such as "Limbo" on the old British frigates of the "Leander" class, or rocket launchers with which the old German destroyers and frigates are equipped. The Canadians retained "Limbo" also in their newer vessels. And the Dutch, who have frigates similar to those of the West German Navy are thinking about installing rocket launchers.

"Today, weapons are always employed as part of a combined effort. And it is a good thing to have a mix of different ships," says the Dutch commodore. "I am happy to have such different ships in the NATO squadron." The American destroyer "Briscoe" has almost all weapon systems but it is



"Tromp" which offers long-range air protection. The "Briscoe," the Belgian "Wandelaar," the Danish "Peder Skram," "Tromp," and "Karlsruhe" are equipped with the "Sea Sparrow" for close-in defense. And the British have their "Sea Wolf." The Canadian "Algonquin," according to the commodore, is perhaps the best ASW vessel in spite of its age. But the Danes and the Belgians are stronger when it comes to engaging surface formations because they have "Harpoon" and "Exocet" rockets. They also have long-range guns. On the other hand, "Battleaxe" and "Karlsruhe" can employ two helicopters, each. "And I would not want to have to get along without the three guns and the depth-charge launchers of the Portuguese frigate 'Joao Belo.'" One must not judge a ship all by itself. Its value goes up along with the division of labor in the formation."

In case of war, the individual nations would form mixed task forces. As an example, the commodore mentions the Dutch Navy which would form three or four groups with, in each case, one AA frigate, such as "Tromp," two or three "Kortenaer" frigates with two helicopters, each, which correspond to the German "Bremen," and two of the smaller "Van-Speijk" frigates, as well as one supply ship.

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CSO: 3620/712

## COMMENTATOR SEES CIVIL DEFENSE EFFORTS AS INADEQUATE

Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 3/4 May 86 p 3

[Article by Peter Zehrer: "By the Skin of Our Teeth"]

[Text] We barely made it--according to what the civil defense experts of the Austrian ministry of the interior are saying with respect to the maximum credible accident at the Chernobyl nuclear plant: "The very thing the technicians have always called utter nonsense has happened." In other words, the thing the officials said was impossible has really happened. Only the particularly favorable weather conditions prevented something from happening in Austria which the insiders have been aware of for years: We are more or less helpless when it comes to a nuclear disaster that might happen at any time right in front of our doorstep.

In case of a "real threat scenario," as happened in Sweden recently, the possible response in this country would have been limited at best. "First," we were told without attribution, "a decision would have had to be taken on the political level." But what kind of decision? "There is not much to be said about the measures we would take," says ministerial councillor Rudolf Werner, a civil defense expert at the interior ministry. "They start out with a plea that people should stay inside their homes" and reach all the way to evacuation.

But as far as large-scale evacuations are concerned, the appropriate authorities admit that they have not given very much thought to this eventuality "because a Chernobyl-type catastrophe simply seemed inconceivable," Werner says.

In other words, the authorities were and in principle still are surprised. To be sure, the Austrian early warning system works fairly well and the ongoing controls of radiation levels are satisfactory. But what would happen if one of the nuclear power plants in neighboring Czechoslovakia were to "blow" and a city such as Hollabrunn and the surrounding communities had to be evacuated?

Some time ago, a Canadian city of 200,000 inhabitants had to be evacuated as a result of a chlorine gas disaster. The authorities got the shock of their lives because they could not provide the victims with more than a one-time supply of clothing and food although they had stockpiled large quantities of goods. But anything like such stockpiles simply do not exist in Austria and there is no point in talking about shelters the need for which has either been ignored or propagandized in awkward ways.

Not even the army has a sufficient number of appropriate shelters and even the NBC equipment the soldiers have is modest at best. But if we get into the question of technically coping with a disaster, then Chief of Staff Tauschitz readily admits that "we are not even equipped to provide safe drinking water."

And as for the civilian shelters, they are something else. In Styria, for example, there is a relatively sensible building code which calls for such shelters but in the capital they have been fighting tooth and nail against any such ordinance. Until today, Vienna does not have a civil defense plan, nor does it have a catalog of measures to be taken or an alert plan. The unique opportunity of using the underground as a shelter for hundreds of thousands of people has been missed through non-chalance and negligence.

More than 80 percent of the Swiss population can take shelter in the immediate vicinity of their homes but only five or at best seven percent of the Austrian population can take refuge from radiation in shelters. And as for the "helpful hints" provided by the health authorities such as insulating one's cellar with scotch tape or adhesive tape--they can only be characterized as macabre jokes.

A second sore spot is the supply system. To help out the army in case of an emergency, there is at least legislation which permits the requisitioning of a limited number of vehicles. But there is no such legislation which applies to the civilian sector. Disaster relief legislation does present a modest way out, i.e. local mayors may "requisition" certain consumer goods. But in case a place like Hollabrunn had to be evacuated, a large number of supermarkets would be needed--and there the government's hands would be tied because there still is a gaping hole in the laws dealing with provisions for disaster.

From the start, civil defense was treated like a stepchild by the politicians and accordingly was not provided with enough of a budget. When the interior ministry and the Laender jointly kick off a new self-protection initiative in June, that initiative will no doubt be overshadowed by the Chernobyl disaster. Rethinking our plans to cope with disaster is simply a matter of necessity because even in our country we are not merely confronted with avalanches and flooding.

## MOTIVATION, PLANNING FOR FRG PARTICIPATION IN EDI DETAILED

Munich SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 2 May 86 p 13

[Article by Kurt Kister: "Laser Tanks and Missiles--Like in a Flash Gordon Film"; first paragraph is SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG introduction]

[Text] Out of fear that the American SDI project could open new "windows of vulnerability," Bonn is developing plans for an expensive expansion of air defense.

No one knows precisely whose "child" the European Defense Initiative (EDI) actually is. Two CSU politicians can be considered the potential inventors (at least of the name): Alfred Dregger and Franz Josef Strauss. Both of them, Dregger following his trip to the United States and Strauss following the meeting of the CSU board, found almost simultaneously last spring that the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) of the Reagan government required a European counterpart. This gave rise to the EDI. Although for a good year now security policy circles and occasionally the broader public have heard mention and argumentation regarding EDI, this body of thought, unlike SDI, has only met with limited official acceptance. The parliamentary state secretary in the Ministry of Defense, Peter Kurt Wuerzbach, recently said "the Federal Government does not use the concept of a European Defense Initiative." Manfred Woerner rather speaks of "expanded air defense" but means at least also a program to defend against missiles by saying it.

This is precisely what EDI is all about: The promoters of a European Defense Initiative fear that SDI could open a European "window of vulnerability." Whereas the United States could, in the future, use any possible form to defend itself against approaching strategic missiles, Europe would stand defenseless against the many shorter-range missiles. As was the case in the supplemental armaments discussions, fears of a transatlantic decoupling are being heard: On the one side of the Atlantic, the "fortress America," on the other side, a Europe as yet untested in this area. During the session of the nuclear planning group of NATO in April 1984, when CSU circles were not yet so convinced of the SDI as they are today, Manfred Woerner himself warned of the danger of "zones of unequal security" in NATO.

## "Zones of Unequal Security"

Six months earlier, Woerner's planning chief, Hans Ruehle, had philosophized about the barely 6-months-old SDI Reagan speech before several journalists at the Canadian Montebello and had pointed out the need of Europe's own missile defense. Since Woerner took office, Ruehle's planning staff at the Ministry of Defense is considered to be a citadel of European missile defenders. More and more frequently, specialized journals contain articles originated by the planning staff or its environs, which propagate EDI without necessarily using this officially disdained appellation. The most recent discussion contribution was delivered weeks ago by the minister himself when he called for a comprehensive new look for total air defense in Western Europe in a contribution to the U.S. specialized journal STRATEGIC REVIEW. According to Woerner, the focal point must concentrate on the increasingly threatening missile arsenal of the Warsaw Pact nations.

The Soviets have actually allowed a comprehensive renovation and expansion of their ballistic missiles of shorter range after the modernization of their medium-range missiles (through the SS-20), which was accomplished during the 1980's. Moscow designates the new missile types, the SS-21, SS-22, and SS-23, as the answer to NATO supplemental arming. Chronologically, this is certainly true. In actual fact, however, the Soviet Union had long planned this supplemental arming, way before it was clear as to what form the new deployment of Western medium-range rockets would take. The new missiles of the Warsaw Pact replace technically obsolete models from the late 1950's and early 1960's. In addition to these ballistic missiles, threat analysts at the Ministry of Defense and in interested armaments firms are devoting their attention also more strongly to Soviet cruise missiles. The discussion here concentrates on variations of the AS-15, which has a reported maximum range of 3,000 km and can be launched both from aircraft as well as from submarines.

The latest report on Soviet military power, which is issued each year by the Pentagon, also mentions the SS-NX-21 cruise missile which is still said to be in the experimental stage. The report states that it is expected that the SS-NX-21 will soon be operational and then will be deployed aboard submarines near the coast of the United States and its NATO allies. This threat scenario is completed finally by a new "generation" of Soviet combat aircraft: a strategic bomber which can also be used against targets in Europe (NATO code "Blackjack"), three interceptors (MiG-29, MiG-31, SU-27), as well as a fighter-bomber (MiG-27).

In considering this information, the fine difference becomes clear between the EDI, which was originally "only" conceived by the defense minister as a missile defense project and the "expanded air defense" which has been promoted for months by Woerner. The Ministry of Defense wants to develop new defense technologies against the total spectrum of these so-called "Soviet options" and acquire them, on the one hand; on the other hand, Woerner wants to clearly avoid having his great air defense vision merely regarded as a supplement to SDI, just like EDI, and have it, thus, depend on the progress made by this U.S. project.

The clear difference from SDI is also emphasized because the U.S. project is aimed exclusively against missiles with nuclear warheads. The projectiles threatening Europe, however, the Soviet missiles, the cruise missiles, and shorter-range missiles launched from aircraft can also have conventional or chemical warheads. These new weapons, according to Woerner's state secretary Lothar Ruehl, would offer the means for "preemptive target attacks without the use of nuclear warheads."

Consequently, Ruehl wrote in FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG in January that it would be useless to invest only in defense against combat aircraft in the air defense project and to leave out unmanned means of attack--the cruise missiles.

In the German armaments industry, a branch of activity which, following the gradual termination of several large-scale projects, is once more fighting for follow-on orders, the new threat analyses are not unwelcome. Moreover, since the beginning of this discussion which started--even though in a more modest manner than today--with the assumption of office of the new master of the Ministry of Defense, the industry planners are continuously underlining this decision process. An example of this is the military outfitting enterprise MBB at Ottobrunn: Its employees are swarming in great numbers to attend appropriate sessions in order to sketch out the "essential characteristics of the threat," as they recently did at the 60th working session of the German Society for Defense Technology. After it was determined that, in future, "a total of more than 15,000 possible assailants can be expected in the first hours" (aircraft, helicopters, tactical missiles) the possible solutions, on the one hand, include "quality" and, on the other hand, offers of "new technologies." According to MBB, this is a question of "optimizing the mix of ground- and air-based reconnaissance/sensor systems and weapons systems."

Both industry and the Ministry of Defense are betting both on the modernization of existing systems of air defense, as well as on new developments. Aircraft, helicopters, and, in part, cruise missiles, represent greater problems in detection, identification, and tracking than they do with respect to actual combat. If these flying systems are once acquired they can be combated with defensive weapons which are on-line today. The tactical missiles are something else: The ballistic rockets, according to an industry analysis, have steep attack trajectories, extremely high velocities, as well as small dimensions--they thus pose problems as far as target acquisition and combat are concerned which have thus far been disregarded. The United States is, consequently, already working intensively on the modification of the Hawk missile, which is the NATO standard antiaircraft missile. The new Patriot missile, which is just now being acquired in large numbers by the Bundeswehr, is supposed to be suitable for missile defense in its next version.

From the German side, MBB, in cooperation with AEG and Siemens, intends to contribute a so-called new tactical air defense system to augment the Patriot missile. As the firm recently announced, the Federal German Air Force is currently working on a tactical requirement for the new tactical air defense system which is supposed to reflect the desire for a missile defense capacity of this system. Another MBB concept sounds completely like Star Wars: the

high-energy laser. As if it were near reality, the enterprise is showing a drawing of a small laser with an extensible transmission telescope, mounted on a tracked vehicle. According to MBB, before this laser tank, which reminds one a little of Flash Gordon films, can be employed against "the mass of missiles on the battlefield" the firm believes in a preliminary step now with which it intends to blind the sensors of enemy target acquisition instruments and target-seeking warheads.

Missing official approvals and, primarily, a lack of funds could be obstacles to the ambitious visions from Bonn and Ottobrunn. The ABM Treaty of 1972 between the Soviet Union and the United States also contains some provisions which are applicable to the "expansion of air defense." Although the ABM Treaty refers exclusively to defense against strategic missiles. On the other hand, Article 6 of the treaty prohibits "missiles, launch ramps, or radar instruments" which are not exclusively designed to defend against ballistic missiles (English: antiballistic missiles) and prohibits their modification to combat approaching strategic missiles or appropriate testing. In the opinion of many U.S. scientists, this also prohibits the testing of missiles against tactical rockets. Their trajectories, velocities, and radar pictures differ only slightly from the characteristics of strategic submarine-based missiles, according to Jonathan B. Stein, who wrote in the most recent issue of the periodical ARMS CONTROL TODAY.

#### Violations of ABM Treaty?

Further, Article 9 of the treaty contains a prohibition against passing on ABM systems or their components to other countries. If one follows the interpretation that the equipment for defense against tactical missiles could also be used to defend against strategic rockets, then the above-described modifications of the Hawk and Patriot missiles and their subsequent export to Europe, already represent violations of the ABM Treaty.

Despite all difficulties, the Federal Ministry of Defense wants to use the EDI to accomplish its "expansion of air defense." According to the new Bundeswehr plan, which extends through the year 1999, budgetary allocations for the development of a tactical air defense system having a missile defense capability are planned effective 1990. However--and this will bring many a fan of the new tactical air defense system back down to earth--elsewhere in this plan there is talk of experiences which were gathered during tests and which indicate that the most modern munitions can result in a "rapid quality gain." According to well-informed sources, the plan also states that industry "cannot master the high goals technically nor in sufficient time" and, in part, defense management cannot produce "the necessary pressure required for the acquisition on the basis of its personnel strength." Furthermore, the scope of the action is said to be limited by dependence on cooperation partners, "primarily by the United States." In view of these realities, it is unlikely that Flash Gordon will become a long-term soldier with the Bundeswehr during this century.

5911

CSO: 3620/714

## DEFENSE STAFF CHIEF DISCUSSES NEW PROBLEMS FACING MILITARY

Rotterdam NRC HANDELSBLAD in Dutch 30 Apr 86 p 8

[Interview with Chief of Defense Staff Gen Govert Huyser, conducted by Pieter Maessen, date and place not given: "Netherlands' Highest Military Man Huyser: As I Tell It, It Can Happen--'War Will Be Robotized, but Humans will Always Remain Vulnerable'"]

[Text] He says of himself: "I am expected to be a defense futurologist." General Govert L.J. Huyser (55) is the Chief of the Defense Staff and therefore the Netherlands' highest military man (four stars and a medal). In an interview on the future of the military force, the words "scary" and "gruesome" are regularly used. It is about robot armies, terrorists and laser installations.

The Hague, 30 April--One of Huyser's premises, which he regularly brings up in speeches, is that the Western governments, forced by the population, will try to limit the role of nuclear arms in defense. "Simultaneously," Huyser says, "one still wants security." Then, naturally, I get to an SDI-type system. I am convinced that the Americans will persist with that system." SDI is the American project which is supposed to lead to an "shield" of arms, located in space, which must be capable of destroying missiles. Although SDI is not accepted in Europe either--for the time being--, Huyser is not too concerned about the tensions that will create in the alliance. A few days after the attack in Libya he said: "In spite of all our differences and problems, which the media make the most of, we still have a relationship befitting free and sovereign states."

NATO is currently diligently studying the introduction of new technologies which are to increase the fighting strength of the alliance considerably and which ultimately might render tactical nuclear arms superfluous. The disappearance of nuclear arms might offer more "latitude" for waging war with conventional means, whose destructive effect, for that matter, must absolutely not be underestimated.

[Question] With the disappearance of nuclear arms, will war in the front line become more easily pursuable, more easily acceptable because the "latitude" for military action is increased?



Huyser: Yes. And that is also the great question surrounding SDI, in which nuclear arms likewise would make place for a defensive shield. Therefore we want an answer from the Americans on this important question. A scenario must be set up: is that possible, and what course will that take?

"The balance in nuclear arms can prevent--we hope--our running unnecessary risks. If that were to come to an end, a conventional "adventure" would be conceivable. That must be prevented, of course. That is the vital question which all of us in the alliance must keep in mind in the framework of SDI. The danger is very real."

Retain

[Question] If that danger appears to exist, wouldn't nuclear arms have to be retained in the front line, which causes so much opposition?

Huyser: "Yes, that is the consequence."

You said once that Western Europe must guard against the danger of Finlandization, a situation in which Western countries more or less voluntarily adapt their political attitude under the Soviet threat. Do you already have indications for the existence of that?

Huyser: "No, but now and then one shudders at the statements of some responsible people which result in someone exposing himself to, or becoming prey to, a process of Finlandization."

"I prefer not to mention names. In the Netherlands too, there are politicians who, thinking that certain things must and can be done for so much less, lay themselves open to pressure in that area. Those are the people who think that financially and materially things can easily be done for less, not only in the Netherlands, but in all of NATO. I really find that somewhat unjustified."

Robotization

"War is going to be robotized," thus Huyser describes the future of the defense force. Armies are smaller in the 21st century and soldiers are specialists. Most airplanes will be without a crew, and the navy won't need 150 men or women per frigate, but fewer than 100. Certain tanks will be operated by remote control. It will be possible to halve the number of 100,000 military in the army. Part of the observation work will be done not by the human eye, but by sensors (artificial senses). Huyser: "But making decisions and providing leadership will continue to be done by people, because one can't put all the variables into the computer. That means that human beings will simultaneously become very vulnerable again to the very simple soldier with a gun and a hand grenade. Thus you will always find those back, although not in great numbers."

[Question] Will robotization have consequences for the moral and human aspects? After all, you're letting a few thousand people fight a war, as it were, while the rest are watching television to see how it will end.

Huyser: That is a different dimension entirely, which certainly is inherent in it. However, war will certainly remain total and thus will also cause civilian victims."

[Question] Robotization does not fit in with the Dutch efforts to retain an army of conscripts, by which the government hopes to achieve a defense force borne by all parts of the population.

Huyser: "That is correct. Our mobilizable reserves are now primarily composed of conscripts. But I fear that those reserves will never be able to arrive at the front in time in the 21st century, because everything will happen extremely rapidly. Moreover, the work is becoming more complicated and thus we won't have any time left at all to train the conscripts during the relatively short period they are available. I fear we'll have to go in that direction."

[Question] In the command center of the American air force in the Federal Republic of Germany it is amazing just how much knowledge is concentrated in just a few locations, and how important one such junction is. From some of those centers they can see all of the Federal Republic of Germany and a large part of the other side of the Iron Curtain. Certainly the vulnerability of such centers must make you sick? For just one direct hit on such a bunker causes the loss of all lines of communication.

Huyser: Technically that is not so difficult to solve. It is relatively inexpensive to build spare systems and then preferably to place them in locations which cannot be found precisely. Still, they do indeed remain very vulnerable to guided missiles and cruise missiles. Therefore we have adjusted our plans during the past years.

We'll still be able to deal with that threat in the 21st century because one can build a concentrated defense around it, a so-called point defense. A laser security system, so that it can't be penetrated."

[Question] A type of mini-SDI system that can close off something similar just like a bell jar?

Huyser: "Precisely. That is technically very feasible, for such a laser can operate very easily with a source of energy on the earth."

#### Terrorism

[Question] Should the Dutch army and NATO also prepare for threats other than that of the Warsaw Pact? For example large-scale terrorism or private armies such as those which occur in James Bond movies?

Huyser does not exclude private armies, but puts emphasis on "terrorist groups which could acquire nuclear arms and use them." "That would be very gruesome. I think we might still experience the Soviet Union and the United States getting together to try to eliminate such a party in order to prevent an element which is disturbing to the East-West relation from resulting. There are some developments in this area. Terrorism is a modern form of waging war,

at least that's what it looks like. One can't protect oneself 100 percent against that. A terrorist can see /everything/ as a target. Fortunately that development is also discerned by Gorbachev."

[Question] You are thinking about future developments. But will you be able to exert influence on them?

Huyser: "I do indeed have that illusion. As to the technological development I have always said that the army leadership must not be dragged along by what engineers say. They can offer us nice things which we don't need at all. A very clear example: It is possible to have a system within 20 years which provides small satellites 500 kilometers behind the battle field, which can tell you without any loss of time whether a metal object is a car or a tank. The system processes those data and the computer gives the firing order for the missile to "take" those tanks. The way I'm telling it is the way it can happen. It is a horrendously expensive system, which we thus consciously forego."

"Further, I now have a minister who is very willing to listen to me. It is entirely his good right not to accept certain pieces of my advise, but he does also worry about such things along with me at times. Of course the possibility exists that there might be another minister after the elections, but I hope I can get the same willing ear in that case."

8700

CSO: 3614/109

## MAJOR ELECTRONIC WARFARE EXPENDITURE PROPOSED TO PARLIAMENT

Rotterdam NRC HANDELSBLAD in Dutch 10 Apr 86 p 2

[Unattributed article: "660 Million Guilders for Electronic Warfare -- Eliminate Lag"]

[Text] The Hague, 10 April --For 660 million guilders, the army is going to purchase equipment for electronic warfare [EOV]. Secretary of State Van Houwelingen (defense, equipment) told the House yesterday that he had developed a program which will allow the Netherlands to eliminate its lag relative to the other allies in this area in approximately 10 years.

Electronic warfare involves control over radio and radar traffic. By monitoring and tapping radio transmissions it is possible to obtain data about the disposition, the order of battle and the plans of the opponent. By jamming radio traffic it is possible to hamper enemy operations. In addition, one's own radio traffic must be protected against jamming operations by the opponent. The Warsaw Pact is very advanced in this technique. Meanwhile, other NATO countries also have an EOV capacity, but NATO is struggling with the problem that the systems of the various member states are not very compatible. The 1984 defense memorandum already noted that the Netherlands wants to make up the lag.

The army will form two companies, an active one and one that can be mobilized. In addition, an automated command management and administration system will be necessary, which around 1990 will be coupled to the data files of the army commander. As of 1993, automatic "disposable" jamming devices will be purchased which in times of war will be scattered in enemy territory. To do that, they will be dropped from planes by parachutes.

Three consortia have been invited to submit bids. In two of the cases the main contractor is a Dutch company (Fokker with the German company Rode und Schwarz; HSA [Dutch Signalling Equipment] with the German AEG); in one case it is an American main contractor (GTE) with a Dutch subcontractor (Rietschoten en Houwens). Secretary of State Van Houwelingen will try to reach agreements on cooperation with his German colleague Timmermann, because the West German and Dutch armies must operate next to one another in the North German plain and have an interest in working with mutually compatible systems. The international cooperation is being hampered because governments and industries are very reluctant to provide information on EOV equipment.

The active company to be set up should be operational by the end of 1988. It will be located in Eibergen. The Military Intelligence Service School will be transferrred to Ede. There will be 140 new positions for career military personnel, 115 for conscripts, and 15 for civilian officials. The civilians will primarily have to provide Russian language instruction. The yearly operating expenses will amount to approximately 20 million guilders.

8463

CSO: 3614/107

## MANPOWER CHIEF DISCUSSES CONSCRIPTION, ASSIGNMENT PROBLEMS

Rotterdam NRC HANDELSBLAD in Dutch 10 Apr 86 p 6

[Interview with selective service director in Ministry of Defense, Dr P.M.J. Hermans, conducted by NRC HANDELSBLAD staffer Pieter Maessen, date and place not given: "We Will Have To Pick the Conscripts from the School Benches"]

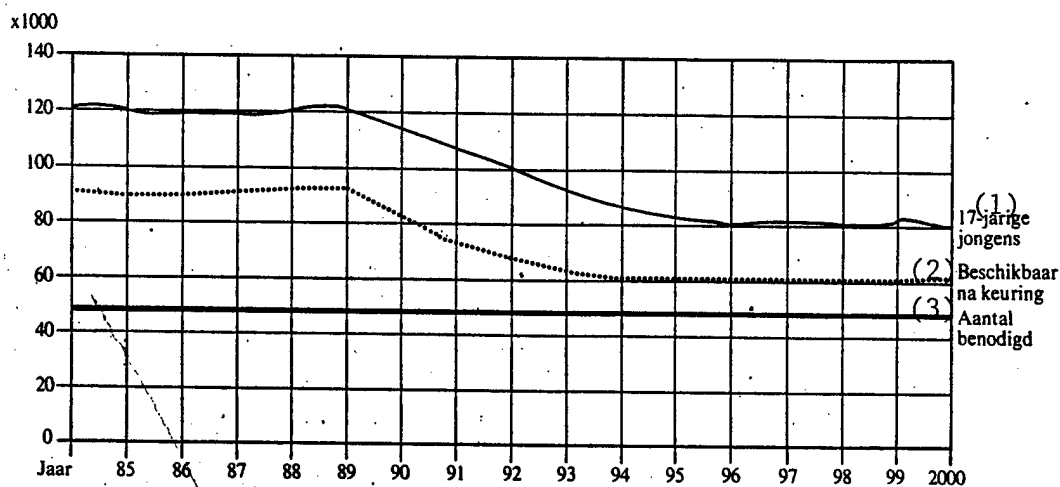
[Text] These days, the former director of the house of detention and prison in Maastricht, Dr P. Hermans, is imposing a different kind of government constraint on the citizens. He is selective service director in the Ministry of Defense, located on Kerkrade. "There will be no shortage of conscripts, but it is inevitable that in the future, if they don't cooperate, we will have to pick them from the school benches," said Hermans.

The Hague, 9 April -- Hermans is director of a service where 195 individuals must try every year to place 45,000 conscripts at the least unsuitable time in the most suitable place. You would think that in the year 1986 something like that would be a breeze with the help of a clever computer program. In spite of a surplus of tens of thousands of conscripts, the 1986-2 March draft was short 500 boys. How is that possible?

Hermans: "Every year there are 120,000 boys, 17 years old, who could in principle become conscripts. First, a couple thousand get out because they have a brother in the service. The examination is based on the ABOHZIS system: numbers from 1 to 5 are assigned to general (A), upper limbs (B), lower limbs (O), hearing (H), sight (Z), intelligence (I), and stability (S). A one is good, a five bad. Twenty to 25 percent of the boys are dropped at the time of the examination. About 90,000 boys are left then, and we only need 45,000."

"Hence, we could do without a large number of them. Boys who made twos and threes on their ABOHZIS are suitable for military service, but in practice it is harder to classify them. Therefore, in order to provide clarity quickly we declare at once that a large number of that group are liable to extraordinary military service, that is to say that they need to be available only in a crisis situation."

Table: Overview of Number of People Liable for the Draft



Key: 1. 17 year old boys  
2. available after examination  
3. number needed

"The majority of people become available during the summer months, after the end of the school year. However, every year we have six drafts, hence those people also have to fill the draft needs for the spring months of the next year. In addition, we must take a look at the various positions which need to be filled. For that it will be necessary to meet certain training requirements or be able to function without glasses. Thus, someone could end up in the unfortunate situation where he would always fail to be drafted. Partly due to this, the waiting period could also be rather long."

"In October 1984, we put a limit on that waiting period. From the moment they become available, nobody will have to wait for more than 14 months to be actually drafted. After that time, someone would become liable to extraordinary draft, the so-called 'extraordinary draft waiting period,' unless he wants to become a conscript no matter what. Because of that 14 month measure, about 15,000 boys became liable to extraordinary draft the first time in 1984. Today this is still true for about 2,500 per year."

"However, because that buffer supply has disappeared, as was the case in March, there can suddenly be a shortage of conscripts. As a matter of fact, we had a situation where the number of people requesting deferments and exemptions had increased. There is a trend where people who have completed

their preliminary vocational training are not immediately available for the draft, but continue their education at the middle level vocational training school. They are given a deferment while we had been counting on them. We are now in the process -- if I may be allowed to express myself in such an irreverent manner -- of improving the 'supply control.'"

[Question] Why don't you tell the boys who based on their ABOHZIS have become liable to extraordinary draft, why they have been given that status?

[Answer] Our letter states: "based on the fact that it is less easy to classify you." Someone could find out the reason of his rejection through his family physician, only I feel that it doesn't make much sense for the people to know. We would need many more personnel to provide such precise information to those tens of thousands of people.

[Question] What are the consequences of the stricter application of the rules?

[Answer] When, based on our data, people become available, they receive an availability letter, a reminder that they could be called into actual duty within the next 14 months. Up to now we have been rather flexible with regard to boys who, after having become available, took the risk anyhow of starting an educational program. We didn't want to pick anybody off the school benches in March when they were still facing an exam. If we had done that anyhow, we would not have been 500 short.

[Question] That will be done in the future?

[Answer] Yes. We will have to be more strict on the rules if we want to be able to maintain the major advantage of the certainty of the 14 month rule. You cannot call that a policy change, because the one is the result of the other. It is a process we will have to get used to and that will have to become known.

[Question] Minister De Koning (social affairs and employment) has said that in terms of the actual drafting of conscripts attention will be paid to whether people have a job or not.

[Answer] Only in certain circumstances, when another interest is also at stake, could the fact of having a job be a reason for granting an exemption. That is necessary because otherwise it would mean that the burden of military service would lie on those people who are without work at the moment and on those who for whatever reason like to go into the service -- because there are some of them --, while those with a job don't have to. It would also mean that when those jobless individuals return from the service, they would have even less chance of getting a job. Because then the jobs on the labor market would as a matter of fact still be filled by the boys who had a job and for that reason did not have to go into the service. Then you get into a situation where only those lacking an opportunity must go into the service -- because for those who are better educated the chances on the labor market are better than for those less well educated. Hence what Minister De Koning referred to as taking the position on the labor market into account is unachievable.



Besides, how would you go about making a selection? Should the first one to announce that he has a job be exempted? I find that arbitrary. Furthermore, we would no longer be able to fill all the positions in the armed forces. Because you would no longer be able to draft people with a certain training, in which job opportunities are many, at all and people might start choosing that training precisely for that reason. There are gruesome sides to this in terms of social acceptability and fairness.

In Sweden they have a simple system: everyone can obtain a deferment until after high school and then he has to join the service. Exemptions only exist there for those who are working in the war industry.

[Question] Have you ever toyed with the idea of doing something like that in the Netherlands?

[Answer] I think that, however complicated it may be, the current system is sound because it takes into account social and individual interests. In our country it is very important for people to be able to pursue their studies immediately after high school, and it would be hard to turn that back. As a matter of fact, right now Sweden also has a surplus of 6,000 individuals, but it has been agreed that the armed forces will simply have to figure out a way to giving those 6,000 a job.

[Question] Are you also paying attention already to whether a boy is qualified to work with computers?

[Answer] We try to get as much data as possible, such as the young men's education and hobbies, in order to be able to place them in an appropriate position. You have to make sure that there are people able to work with computers in all six of the draft teams. If you want to do something for a certain group, then the interests of the others will be pushed aside. That also explains why people will sometimes say: if you are a cook you will become a chauffeur, and if you are a chauffeur a cook. This could indeed be necessary because a third person for whom no job is available, but who is qualified to be a chauffeur, also needs to be placed.

[Question] What are the expectations about the number of conscripts available after the year 2000?

[Answer] By 1996, the number of 17 year old boys will have dropped to 80,000. If you deduct the 20 to 25 percent of those who are turned down from this number, then we can meet the needs. But then people would no longer become liable to extraordinary military service because, based on their ABOHZIS, they are less easily classified. The prediction is that after the year 2000 the supply will become stabilized or at least not decrease. Hence, there will not be a shortage, but rather a scarcity.

Director Hermans happily grabbed the opportunity offered to him to say something he wanted to get off his chest. "From time to time we receive letters, sometimes dozens of them a day, from people who feel that 'their' situation is so special that they really believe they are eligible for an exception to

the rules. Our position is that you can and should make an exception only if you can defend this to third parties, that is to say people who are in similar circumstances. Generally speaking, there is little understanding of this."

"They ask for a special study postponement or for an adjustment related to a unique job that has suddenly become available. Even though I understand this very well -- they are sometimes poignant letters --, I cannot agree to their request. If you say yes to Mr X, then you also have to say yes to Mr Y in a similar situation. But he wouldn't get a postponement because he was not very good at writing the letter or didn't dare to take that step or simply because he thought: that is the rule, so I'll just have to resign myself to it. Furthermore, the manning of the armed forces would become threatened if you turn an exceptional situation into a rule."

8463

CSO: 3614/108

## DEFENSE INDUSTRY FUND ESTABLISHED

Istanbul DUNYA in Turkish 3 Apr 86 p 3

[Article by Levent Akbay: "Defense Fund: New Resource for Project Support"]

[Text] Ankara - Vahit Erdem, chairman of the Defense Industry Development and Support Administration, said that the administration has completed preparations for hiring personnel and has issued an appeal to qualified personnel working in the public and private sectors and abroad. Noting that the Defense Industry Development and Support Administration has launched efforts to realize "a new and very important thrust," Vahit Erdem said, "With the hiring of personnel, the organization needed to make the Defense Industry Fund operational will be complete." Vahit Erdem said the Defense Industry Fund will be used where needed and entirely in support of new projects.

In a statement to DUNYA, Defense Industry Development and Support Administration Chairman Vahit Erdem pointed out that "the Administration has put out a help wanted notice" and said, "The Defense Industry Development and Support Administration, which will be a new and very important move forward for Turkey, will bring advanced technology to the country, will hire qualified personnel and will complete the organization needed to make the Defense Industry Fund operational."

## 100 in First Stage

Erdem said they had placed hiring notices in the newspapers, and the administration had just moved into its own building and had begun work with a core staff drawn from various public organizations. In addition to personnel such as managers and economists, up to 100 electrical, electronic, computer, mechanical, industrial, physical and chemical engineers will be hired, Erdem said.

Pointing out that the positions would be advertised abroad for qualified Turkish personnel in addition to the notices placed in the newspapers, Vahit Erdem said, "Development of the defense industry will have top priority for employees of our administration. These people will be attuned to developments abroad and will be working to bring advanced technology to Turkey. They will find it possible to develop in their professions to the maximum."

## Joint Decision

Noting that the organization of the administration will be complete following the hiring of personnel and that the Defense Industry Development and Support Administration will organize defense industry investments, Vahit Erdem said, "We will not open our own factory and go into production. Local and foreign firms, or partnerships between them, will supply the needs of the defense industry. Of course, public corporations may join these partnerships also."

Defense Industry Development and Support Administration Chairman Vahit Erdem noted that the core staff was now evaluating defense industry projects and said, "To make the best use of the fund, we will support only projects which are new and will bring advanced technology to the country. Of projects now in progress, the only one we supported was the Oerlikon project of the Machine and Chemical Industry. We are not considering subsidizing ongoing projects beyond this one."

8349

CSO: 3554/35

ECONOMIC

CYPRUS

REPORTED LOSSES FROM LACK OF ARAB TRADE

Nicosia O AGON in Greek 23 May 86 p 1

/Text/ Arab firms have decreased their trade with Cyprus at an alarming rate resulting in the loss of many millions of pounds of foreign exchange.

The causes mentioned are the high cost of our goods that have already lost a great part of their competitiveness in Arab markets.

Foreign exchange lost last year, compared to 1984, from the Lebanese market alone came to 22 million pounds.

What also causes concern is the big drop noted in re-exports where Cyprus held first place in the preference of Arab firms over the past 5 years.

According to reliable information of O AGON, the Arabs have replaced Cyprus with other countries that have lower costs for services in the re-export sector.

The repercussions on our economy are huge and of concern but ways to alleviate the situation do not appear to exist at this time.

This matter is of much concern to the business and industrial world and government because millions of pounds are being lost at a period when the economy needs it most.

5671

CSO: 3521/155

## DUISENBERG ON EMPLOYMENT, CONTINUED NEED TO CUT BUDGET

Amsterdam DE VOLKSKRANT in Dutch 30 Apr 86 p 7

[Report on interview with Dutch Bank President Wim Duisenberg by Nico Goebert and Harry van Seumeren: "President of Dutch Bank Considers Cabinet Goal Gigantic: 'We'll Have to Continue for Many Years with Retrenchments'"]

[Text] The annual report of The Dutch Bank is optimistic reading. The economy seems to be doing well: no inflation, increasing work opportunity, more investments. But the bank president does not neglect to point out the risks. Decreasing taxes and abandoning retrenchments thus will remain unachievable for the time being. "It will not be so terribly attractive to govern shortly. We still have a long way to go." The warning finger of Duisenberg.

Amsterdam--At the end of the conversation dr Wim Duisenberg counts his blessings. The Dutch economy resembles a "central bankers paradise," it seems. "The central bank should be very satisfied. Inflation is zero, and with that we satisfy the requirement of the law. Work opportunity is increasing, even in industry. We have a tremendous balance of payments. Hefty investments are being made again."

That is it for the pleasant things. With great feeling for understatement the bank president adds in one breath that "a couple of problems" remain: unemployment and government finances. In tackling these problems, the central bank can only "do its modest bit via the monetary policy. Primarily the government must do much."

The Dutch Bank has its affairs in order; now it is the turn of the rest, reads Duisenberg's message. The explanations the bank president has for everything have, to say the least, a sobering effect on the The Hague politicians on the election path. For example, on those who promise the voters that taxes can be decreased in the coming cabinet period. "I don't attach much importance to those agreements for tax decreases. If you think the problems through a little more, you'll see you cannot definitely count on that. On the contrary; without tax increases the financing deficit will not decrease rapidly enough in the coming years."

"A similar warning also applies to those who dangle the prospect before the voters' eyes that, after 4 years of economizing, less needs to be done in the coming 4 years. "In 1987 we are back to the beginning with the financing deficit. The goal is still gigantic. A decrease with 1/2 point per year is far too little." The task in the coming years is so great, Duisenberg explains, that statements to the effect that social benefits will remain unaffected after the change in the system have really been built on quicksand.

"I don't see which category of expenditures could be excluded." And, significantly: "We still have a very decent system of social security. I too wished I knew of alternatives. Whoever has them, may raise his finger." Heavier burdens for industry can only furnish a small contribution to the restructuring of government finances, according to the bank president.

#### Shorter Workweek

The warning sounds of the bank president are also aimed at the union movement. Redistribution of labor is necessary, but too much emphasis is being given to a general shortening of the workweek. That is not the most effective choice in Duisenberg's view. Specific instruments such as early retirement yield a higher re-employment and thus more jobs. "I would like the unions to realize in practice what they profess orally: a flexible utilization of personnel. The goal is: we must get to a workweek of 36 hours. I find that component is being stressed too much."

Duisenberg realizes that social willingness to continue on, grudgingly, after 4 years of economizing has largely disappeared. The bank president does not seem to lose any sleep over that. "I'm sorry, but that willingness will have to return. One shouldn't be lulled to sleep. If this report leads to the waking up of people, I am satisfied. It won't really be so terribly attractive to be governing shortly. We still have to go a long way, and the only way to convince me of the contrary is to show me different figures."

From Duisenberg's words it is clear that the current cabinet is not entirely without blame for the fact that a new cabinet period of retrenchments is at hand. "It was not a wise policy to give just as much priority to lower taxes as to decreasing the financing deficit, although it might be more attractive to politicians. A tax decrease is immediately noticeable; the favorable effects of a lower financing deficit are only noticed in the long term. The government accord was not followed on that point. The result is that we have to continue for some more years with retrenchments."

#### Civil Servants

Duisenberg outlines the problem. Without further measures the financing deficit will increase to over 10 percent in 1987, partly due to the setback of lower natural gas profits. In the opinion of the economists of the Social Economic Council, a deficit of 5.5 percent is desirable in 1990. That objective is still too high, according to Duisenberg. With such a deficit, the interest burdens will continue to increase. Only with a deficit of less than 4 percent can one speak of stabilization."

However, the discussion on target figures is almost irrelevant in the eyes of the bank president. "Those figures are not sacrosanct. A shortage of over 10 percent is so far over the norm that you know for sure there are still 4 years of hefty retrenchments ahead."

The financing deficit must in any event decrease more rapidly in the coming cabinet period than in the current cabinet. "A lot has happened in the past years. That cannot be denied. Also in the government. The budget of the department of Education and Science, for example, was very drastically cut. But too little has been done in the realm of personnel. Currently there are no fewer civil servants than 4 years ago."

Even more important: the retrenchments by the government, proposes Duisenberg, were canceled out by increasing interest burdens on the national debt. Furthermore, setbacks in the form of budget excesses and extra expenditures were often canceled out against unexpected boons in revenues.

The bank president does not see how the deficit can be brought back to an acceptable level in the coming years without a tax increase, coupled to a program of "heftier retrenchments on balance" than in the past 4 years. The cut-back amount in the coming 4 years can certainly not fall below the 20 to 25 billion of this cabinet.

Duisenberg is very little impressed by objections that such an effort will cripple the economic growth. Again he points to the Danish example. "In Denmark one opted for draconian retrenchments combined with tax increases. The Danish financing deficit will possibly get to zero next year, and the economic growth is double that of ours. Economic growth and retrenchments do not exclude each other. I have to agree with Ruding on that.

#### Ambitious

"It is ambitious, but not impossible." Annually 150,000 new jobs must--"can," says Duisenberg--be added. And even then unemployment will, on balance, decrease by only 50,000 people. Duisenberg calculates: "The working population annually increases by 100,000 people. This is caused by the high birth rate in the recent past and also because more and more women are looking for a job. Therefore, if you want to give work to 50,000 unemployed per year, you will have to create 150,000 jobs."

Just how immense and ambitious this goal is, is taught by the experience of the sixties. At that time investments were significantly below the current level, and industry succeeded in creating new jobs for 50,000 people per year. In the coming years a triple effort will thus have to be made.

"If society thinks that 700,000 unemployed is impossible to live with, then it will have to be prepared to take specific steps," Duisenberg says. "Thus I believe that one should indeed continue with the redistribution of labor." But the bank president is still not very happy with a general shortening of the work day or work week.



The union movement itself says continually that it wants to customize when it is a matter of ATV [work time shortening]. One should not prescribe uniformly how it should be done everywhere, but one should look at each company to see in which manner ATV can best be initiated. "A couple of hours per week less is not much use," says Duisenberg. "You don't get commensurate re-employment with that. I prefer the early retirement, the VUT. I hope that employers and the union movement will start thinking more in that direction. In the VUT the redistribution is much higher; one older worker on retirement simultaneously puts a younger one to work."

So far the VUT has not produced too many new jobs. Duisenberg, however, thinks that things can go faster in the future. "When we started with the work week shortening, there was still hidden unemployment in companies. Furthermore, the companies were able to largely absorb the consequences of shorter work periods through streamlining their labor structure. However, that elbow room no longer exists now, and the VUT will enable people to start working immediately."

Shorter work periods must not result in extra costs for the employer. Employers see their costs increase through tax increases. Is there really money for a shorter work week?

"I don't really see an increase in the willingness to sacrifice some wages. When the price compensation was still in effect, the wage sacrifice appeared to be painless. However, I have some doubt as to the necessity, if not the attainability, of a /lowering/ of the CAO [Collective Labor Agreement] wages, as suggested by the Central Planning Bureau. A real price decrease is not terribly likely. There is already some acceleration in the wage cost increase. Not too alarming--but it is a fact. And some time there will be an end to the deflationary effect of the lower dollar exchange rate and the lower international raw materials prices."

#### Mechanization

Two years ago Duisenberg advocated a rechanneling of the flow of billions in government money to investing companies. The same funds would from now on have to be used to subsidize companies with a great number of employees. Labor costs must decrease, and capital costs (machinery) must become more expensive in proportion. Under these circumstances it is not logical to subsidize mechanization because, he said at the time, far-reaching mechanization merely drives out labor.

The president is somewhat more cautious now. He still thinks that labor costs must drop in relation to capital costs. But, he says now, you must beware of a convulsive development. "It is nonsense to say: stop with the subsidy of the WIR [Investment Account Law] and give that money to companies with many employees. Such a sudden turnabout in policy would be catastrophic. Moreover, the economic margins are small."

"As president of the bank I neither need nor have to make that choice. Employment opportunity is of structural importance. If there is a choice, then let labor costs increase less rapidly. Nevertheless, investments must be

made. It is the strongest way to increase the economic growth and, with it, work opportunity."

#### Granting of Credit

"Furthermore, the lack of adequate training is becoming more and more of an obstacle. "The union movement is not entirely mistaken in its criticism of employers who closed their training schools in the seventies. But we must continue, continue rapidly, with our eyes on the future." He cites the American economist and Nobel prize winner Leontiev who calculated that automatization will ultimately net many, very many jobs. "Ultimately. But he too expects for the United States a shortage of highly qualified personnel in about the years 2000 to 2010. That is also true for the Netherlands. We need many highly-trained people and, especially now, the training to make that possible."

In an economy without price increases and massive unemployment, Duisenberg's warnings about a potential new rising inflation look like an aberrant utterance. A few months ago the concern of the bank president led to an agreement with the banking entity to limit the granting of credit to industry to a maximum of 5.5 to 6 percent this year. The surprise about the monetary caution of the bank is misplaced, Duisenberg thinks. "There is no question of limiting credit: the banks can expand their granting of credit as much as they like, as long as in return they attract sufficient long-term means. That did not happen.

Partly because of that, the quantity of money has grown 2 to 3 times as fast as the national income during the past 6 years."

This "enormous monetary expansion" has led to a super-liquid economy, in which industry has very broad means. "If this liquidity results in investments and economic growth--wonderful, then the problem will simply solve itself. But that won't happen if the result takes the form of rising wages and prices, although at present there are no indications of that." It is better to take steps now than when it is too late, as happened in 1976 and 1977. The price explosion in the real estate market had already taken place then."

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## ADDITIONAL REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT FUNDS APPROVED BY EC

Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS in Portuguese 22 Apr 86 p 24

[Text] The European Commission approved an additional contribution by the European Regional Development Fund to finance 292 projects in Portugal, informed the Planning and Administration Ministry. This aid totals approximately 7 million contos and it is earmarked for funding projects proposed by local governments.

The European Commission had already approved a European Regional Development Fund contribution in January 1986 totaling 242,000 contos to fund 17 projects.

The Portuguese projects selected to receive this year's second aid allotment from the ERDF are mainly geared toward reducing the developmental disparities between the coastal region and the nation's interior. They represent a first selection of projects that local government administrators are undertaking to develop their less developed areas.

Among the areas receiving the highest percentage of aid are the Alentejo, the area north of Lisbon and the Tagus valley. These three regions received about 65 percent of the total aid allotment.

The Autonomous Region of Madeira will receive 972,000 contos in aid while the Autonomous Region of the Azores had already received 2 million contos in the first aid allotment.

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## ACID RAIN CONCERNS; UNDERGROUND COAL DISCUSSED

Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turkish 15 Apr 86 p 16

[Article by Ozcan Ozgur: "They Are Moving Because of The Power Station"]

[Text] The villages of Bagkaya, Tinas, Caybuku and the Yesilbagcilar borough will be resettled with the excuse that there is coal underground. After the Yatagan Thermal Station was established, the inhabitants of the Sek and Eskihisar villages were sent to Gokceada by passing an agricultural resettlement resolution.

Mugla (CUMHURİYET) - After the villages of Sek and Eskihisar were resettled in Gokceada because of the Yatagan Thermal Station, three villages and a borough are also getting ready to move out.

When the Yatagan Thermal Station began functioning three years ago, first it killed the area's traditional means of livelihood, tobacco cultivation, and then it began to threaten olive groves. Upon which the people of the Sahinler village, which is 500 meters distant from the station, filed a 10 million Turkish liras damage suit against the TEK [Turkish Electric Enterprise Directorate General] and won.

While administrators claimed that the filters fitted to chimney stacks prevented the pollution of the environment, a TEK employee said the following:

"To produce an annual 3 billion kilowatts per hour of electricity, we consume 5 million tons of coal. The station's electrical filters retain only ash. If for any reason the units are switched on or off, especially at night, the filters are not working then and we spew ashes through the chimney stacks. Whereupon coal dust and ash begin to rain. Furthermore, dark smoke comes out of the chimney stacks which causes the sulfur dioxide acid rains."

Assistant professor Torul Mol, who is a member of the forestry faculty of the Istanbul University, said the following with regard to the measures that should be taken: "The release into the environment of sulfur dioxide gas chiefly and of substances such as arsenic, lead, zinc fumes, fluor, hydrogen fluoride, nitric acid, various azote oxides, sulfurous hydrogen must definitely be prevented."

After the station was established those living in the villages of Sek and Eskihisar were sent to Gokceada by passing an agricultural resolution. And these days, with the excuse that there is coal underground, it has been made known that the villages of Bagkaya, Tinas, Caybuku and the borough of Yesilbagcilar will be resettled. As for Akin Sari, headman of the Sahinler village which is 500 meters distant from the station and has suffered great damages, he voiced his expectations as follows:

""Let the state buy our land. We are ruined, our tobacco is worthless. We filed a suit, we were entitled to the 10 million indemnity. As the TEK has been resorting to appeals since 1983, we were unable to get this money. We sowed wheat last year, it didn't ripen. Our olives dried up. We were left starving and impoverished. Our children's throats are burning. We ask the state to buy our land and send a health team to our village."

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